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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1335



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GDR PARTY, GOVERNMENT APPROVE WARSAW PACT PROCEEDINGS

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Dec 76 p 1

[Article: "Position of the SED Central Committee Politburo and the GDR Council of Ministers on the Conference of the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Pact States on 25 and 26 November 1976 in Bucharest"]

[Text] The SED Central Committee Politburo and the GDR Council of Ministers have commented on the course and the results of the Conference of the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Pact States held in Bucharest on 25 and 26 November 1976.

They fully approved the report as well as the activity of the GDR delegation which was headed by SED Central Committee secretary general and Council of State chairman, Comrade Erich Honecker. The SED Central Committee Politburo and the Council of Ministers GDR gave their full approval for the resolutions of the Bucharest Conference of the Political Advisory Committee. They underscored the political significance of that conference and the resolutions adopted by it.

Ten years have passed since the Warsaw Pact states took their historical initiative in holding a conference on security and cooperation in Europe. This peace action in the meantime could be implemented successfully. It consolidated the security that is of advantage to all states and peoples. The Helsinki Conference created a broad and clearly outlined platform for the stabilization of peace and thus lastingly promoted the process of international detente and peaceful coexistence in relations between states having differing social systems.

In November 1976, the Warsaw Pact countries launched a new initiative in order logically and consistently to continue the process of detente and to make it irreversible, to supplement political detente with military detente and to eliminate the foci of conflict existing in Europe and in other parts of the world. This program is based on what has been achieved so far and points the way to the future. Its implementation serves to assure a lasting peace in Europe and all over the world.

Detente, for which there is no reasonable alternative, must be turned into a continual as well as increasingly viable and allaround process.

Regarding Europe, this calls for the consistent application of the principles and recommendations agreed upon in the final Helsinki Act. Political realism and common benefit must dominate in the implementation of the Final Act as it must at the all-European Conference of States. The Final Act can be implemented as a unit only if all of its parts are considered. Obligations undertaken must be handled carefully and their falsification must not be permitted. To do that will create the best conditions for the meeting of 35 participating states involved in the All-European Conference of States in Belgrade next year.

Progress in political detente is threatened particularly by the arms race which has been stepped up by the forces of armament capital. This is why the task of at last stopping the material preparations for war is becoming increasingly urgent. The comprehensive program, developed for this purpose by the Warsaw Pact states, is aimed at reducing the burden of armament and eliminating the danger of a devastating nuclear war. It was enriched at the Bucharest Conference by a new, significant initiative, that is, the proposal addressed to the other participants in the all-European Conference of States to pledge themselves to a treaty to the effect that they would reciprocally not be the first to use nuclear weapons. This proposal should be acceptable to all who are concerned with peace and security.

The SED Central Committee Politburo and the GDR Council of Ministers underscore the observation of the Bucharest Conference to the effect that the expansion of mansided cooperation among all countries and peoples of Europe in the most varied fields is one sure way to consolidate the foundation of peace on this continent. The GDR will in the future actively work along those lines in its international relations.

The stabilization of political detente and its supplementation through measures aimed at the discontinuation of the arms race and at disarmament call for the consistent rollback of those forces which have always been opposed to detente and which derived huge profits from the arms race. The circles of armament capital, militarism, and revanchism are exploiting interference in the internal affairs of other states as a weapon against detente. They interpret their obligations in an arbitrary manner, in violation of the treaty. They try to turn individual elements in the Final Act into a yardstick for detente but at the same time they deny the principles of international relations which are inseparably connected with that.

The SED Central Committee Politburo and the GDR Council of Ministers welcome and support the viewpoints and proposals, submitted at the Bucharest Conference, regarding the elimination of foci of conflicts and the solution of outstanding problems in other parts of the world. The GDR will continue to feel linked with all peoples and countries of Africa, the Near East, Asia, and Latin America in their fight against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, as well as fascist oppression, for the strengthening of national independence, peace, and social progress and will consistently fulfill its internationalist obligations.

The Bucharest Conference of the Political Advisory Committee submitted an undoubtedly far-reaching program for the consolidation of peace and security. It will take extraordinary efforts by all democratic and peace-loving forces to implement it step by step in everyday life. That will call for consistent action by the popular masses as well as manifold political and diplomatic actions. The SED Central Committee Politburo and the GDR Council of Ministers are convinced that the objectives of the Bucharest Conference will be attained because they are in keeping with the vital interests of the peoples. This confidence is based not only on experiences in the implementation of earlier peace initiatives by the Warsaw Pact states, the strength and influence of the forces advocating this effort, but also on the fact that these goals are realistic and timely.

The Warsaw Pact organization once again has proved to be a decisive factor in the struggle for peace and detente. The Bucharest resolutions reflect the most profoundly humanist spirit of socialist peace policy.

The Bucharest Conference demonstrated the unity and solidarity of the Warsaw Pact states. This united and compact action serves to consolidate peace and international security. The SED Central Committee Politburo and the GDR Council of Ministers welcome the resolutions adopted by that conference regarding the perfection of the work of the Political Advisory Committee and its agencies.

The SED Central Committee Politburo and the GDR Council of Ministers want to thank the CPSU, the Soviet Union, and Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev personally, whose untiring efforts, so full of initiative, decisively contributed to the attainment of the progress made so far in the detente process, to strengthen the Warsaw Pact Organization, and to attain the results of its Bucharest Conference.

The SED Central Committee Politburo and the GDR Council of Ministers note with satisfaction that the Bucharest program fully agrees with the tasks and goals adopted by the Ninth SED Party Congress. They urge all GDR citizens to help fulfill this program. This is also true for the future: the stronger the socialist community is, the faster and more successfully can this program be translated into action. The people of the GDR is making its contribution to that by strengthening our socialist fatherland.

The SED Central Committee Politburo and the GDR Council of Ministers have spelled out the measures required, such as they derive from the Bucharest Conference of the Political Advisory Committee.

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CSO: 2300

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

CPSU DELEGATION IN GDR--East Berlin--At the invitation of the SED Central Committee, a CPSU Central Committee consulting group led by M. V. Golubev, CPSU Central Committee section chief, visited the GDR from 29 November to 4 December. The delegation, which became acquainted with the SED's experiences in cadre work, was received by Fritz Mueller, Central Committee member and chief of the SED Central Committee's Cadre Department, for a cordial, comradely discussion. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4/5 Dec 76 p 5]

CSO: 2300

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRAGUE JUSTIFIES EXPULSION OF WESTERN CORRESPONDENTS

Prague's Nervous Behavior

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 19 Nov 76 pp 1-2

[Unattributed article: "Prague's Increasingly Nervous Reaction to Western criticism--Violent Attacks Against FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE--'More Than Bad Experiences'"]

[Text] A virulent campaign was launched in Czechoslovakia on 18 November against FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG and its correspondent for Eastern European countries, Viktor Meier, who is based in Vienna. The accusations--which were published on the same day in the organ of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, RUDE PRAVO, in the Slovak party newspaper PRAVDA, and in the youth organization newspaper MLADA FRONTA--culminated in the assertion that FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG is employing journalists who engage in espionage and who would recruit agents for Western intelligence services. The attacks in the party newspapers had been preceded on 17 November on Czechoslovak television by a commentary which sharply criticized a letter by Viktor Meier to the Czechoslovak ambassador in Vienna, in which the correspondent had applied for an entry visa into Czechoslovakia.

The party organ RUDE PRAVO condemned this letter--according to a report by the Czechoslovak news agency Ceteka--as an "exasperating antisocialist provocation tantamount to an ultimatum." "Viktor Meier demanded an entry visa into Czechoslovakia by 20 November, otherwise, he said, it would become clear who is provoking and disregarding the Helsinki resolutions."

Czechoslovakia, writes RUDE PRAVO, is hospitable toward everyone who "comes to our country with goodwill. Millions of foreigners, including numerous journalists, come to our country from the capitalist states. But Meier demands the right to lecture to us on the implementation of the Final Act. Mr Meier's business involves questions of the development of socialist countries. He fabricates reports, for example, on an uprising by workers in Bulgaria or the refusal of Czechoslovak authorities to grant journalists from the BBC an entry visa. In the latter case, the journalists were in Czechoslovakia when he wrote his report and were received at the foreign ministry. Mr Meier is not

interested in whether something is true or not. He has only one goal: to slander a socialist country at all costs. And for that he is quite notorious. For that he is also paid by FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG. Our doors are closed to slanderers and arch-liars because information exchange, according to the Conference on European Security and Cooperation in Europe, is supposed to serve better understanding among nations. Viktor Meier does the exact opposite."

According to reports from Prague by AP and AFP [French Press Agency] as well as Reuter, PRAVDA, which is published in Pressburg [Bratislava], goes even further in its attack. The newspaper writes that, in the anti-Czechoslovak campaign, recently started in West German media, "FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, the mouthpiece of the West German generals, the big corporations and big capital, in short, the mouthpiece of the military-capitalist complex, plays the first fiddle."

Czechoslovakia's past experiences with FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG correspondents are supposed to be "more than bad." "Our authorities even had to expel some of them because they engaged in activities that had nothing to do with journalism--espionage and recruiting of agents for Western intelligence services. Others abused our hospitality to write lies, to slander the Republic and our people, and to insult the results of its work."

Viktor Meier's letter to the Czechoslovak ambassador supposedly contained threats against Czechoslovak representatives and the tone of the letter was such that it "could have been written in 1938 in Hitler's chancellery or in 1941 in Heydrich's office." The TV commentary had asserted that, in the past, in 1967 and 1970, two correspondents of the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG had been expelled from Czechoslovakia. Meier regularly visited the country for 13 years but he had not done so since 1970 because he had specialized in attacks on leading representatives of Czechoslovakia.

The 1967 Expulsion

The assertion of the Czechoslovak TV commentator--to the effect that correspondents of FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG had been expelled from Czechoslovakia in 1970--is wrong. On 14 December 1967, Count Andreas Razumovsky, who had been a correspondent of FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in Czechoslovakia since 1965, was told to leave the country within 48 hours. As reason for this he was told that he had insulted Czechoslovak politicians. When he asked who was meant by that, the then Health Minister Plojhar was mentioned. Razumovsky had last written about the minister on 7 December 1966, in other words, a year before. Razumovsky was the fifth correspondent of a Western newspaper who was expelled from Czechoslovakia during the second half of 1967. The Czechoslovak news agency CTK, after the announcement of the expulsion order, reported that Razumovsky was deprived of his accreditation because he had engaged in activities which are incompatible with the job of a journalist. The UPI wrote at that time: "Razumovsky was the first of the foreign correspondents accredited in Czechoslovakia who reported on the

student demonstrations which had led to clashes with the police in October. Besides, he repeatedly reported in detail on conflicts between the intellectuals, primarily the writers, and the present party leadership."

West German Editorial

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 19 Nov 76 p 12

["Hr" editorial: "Strident Reaction From Prague"]

[Text] On occasion, attack is the best defense. But does this also hold true for the attacks which are being directed from Prague and Pressburg [Bratislava] against FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG? The correspondent of that newspaper who is also responsible for Czechoslovakia, Viktor Meier, in Vienna, has been accused of spreading lies by the Prague central organ; the Pressburg counterpart, PRAVDA, goes so far as to charge all correspondents of FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG with "espionage and agent recruiting." What do the party journalists in Czechoslovakia think they have to defend? Certainly not a reputation as protectors of the truth and truthfulness in newspapers. Thus the insults quickly turn our attention back to their originators. They act like another indication for the fact that the regime of the "consolidators" feels isolated among its own people and that it is being viewed with increasing discomfort also by the socialist neighbors. With a shrill voice, the authorities therefore try to divert attention from the embarrassing situations in their own country. The expulsion of FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG correspondent Razumovsky from Prague in 1967 later on turned out to be an expression of that crisis which led to Novotny's ouster and indirectly to 21 August 1968, to which the present government in Prague owes its rule. Can today's insults perhaps also be interpreted as a signal for the fact that things cannot go on much longer the way they are in Czechoslovakia.

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EAST GERMANY

GDR WRITERS REACT TO BIERMANN EXPATRIATION

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 19 Nov 76 p 25

[Article by Marcel Reich-Ranicki: "Solidarity of GDR Writers--An Extraordinary Consequence of Biermann's Expatriation"]

[Text] Was it worth the trouble? That is the sober question which the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] leadership must ask itself today already, barely 3 days after the spectacular expatriation of the poet Wolf Biermann.

East Berlin of course did expect indignation from West Germany and other Western countries. The many protests and appeals, the resolutions and commentaries are by no means a matter of indifference to those who considered it correct to order this anti-Biermann action. But next week, already, they think the wave of protests will abate; then--they console themselves--new events will attract the attention of the public and will push the Biermann case into the background.

The considerable loss of prestige suffered by the GDR--something which reasonably realistic top-level functionaries would seem to be aware of at any rate--supposedly will be balanced out by the big gain (likewise from the SED viewpoint): they have at last gotten rid of a troublemaker, a provocator, the silent minstrel who, through his existence alone, set a dangerous example for all writers in the GDR. Protest actions come and go; facts remain. And the fact is: Biermann is gone.

On paper, in other words, the whole thing was worthwhile for the SED, especially since the party will now have less trouble with the intimidated writers in its own country. The situation turned out all right--the Central Committee might think.

No, the situation did not turn out all right. No matter what happens, it is certain even now that the Biermann case developed in a manner different from the way the SED had presumed and planned. But this by no means involves events in the West. The big surprise (both for the SED and for many observers hereabouts) is the immediate and unusual reaction of writers in the GDR to the decision on whose basis their colleague was driven out.

The "open letter" to the GDR leadership, signed by 12 writers and by sculptor Fritz Cremer, is a seemingly moderately formulated protest letter. The authorities are asked "to think about the measure that was adopted." The signers do of course say that they cannot identify with everything that Biermann did and wrote but they do completely back him up: he never left any doubt, not even in Cologne, which state he had chosen.

To be sure, they admit, he is an uncomfortable poet; but that is true also of many poets in the past. But the GDR should "in contrast to anachronistic forms of society, be able to bear this kind of discomfort calmly and pensively." This means, indirectly, that the GDR's action against Biermann must be considered an anachronism. At the same time the letter recalls the view held by Karl Marx to the effect that the revolution ceaselessly criticizes itself.

The signers of the "Open Letter" represented the young as well as the older generation of GDR writers, party members and persons without political party affiliation, individuals loyal to the line and critics of the regime. We need not introduce these authors to the readers of our newspaper. We have known them hereabouts for a long time: Christa Wolf and Sarah Kirsch, Stephan Hermlin, Erich Arendt and Stefan Heym, Guenter Kunert, Heiner Mueller and Franz Fuehmann, Jurek Becker, Volker Braun, and Rolf Schneider. Their books have been published in West Germany for many years; our newspapers and television again and again talk about those writers and some of them have been awarded West German prizes and of course also received high and the very highest prizes in the GDR. Whether the SED likes that today or not--these writers do represent GDR literature.

The "Open Letter" is an event which has no parallel in the history of GDR literature: for the first time, the party is being publicly criticized not only by an individual author but by a group of writers. This is something monstrous from the SED viewpoint.

It is not up to us to laud or praise the signers of this letter. And it would be ridiculous if we wanted to give them any advice. But how great must be the despair--and this much we may indeed note--of those authors, several of whom have been members of the SED for decades when they saw no other possibility except public protest which is most strictly forbidden by the party.

One must however under no circumstances consider Biermann's expatriation as an isolated incident. The measures taken against Reiner Kunze, who was expelled from the writers association, triggered a storm of indignation in the literary world of the GDR. It was therefore all the more foolish now to go into action also against Biermann. The SED managed to accomplish something that is as embarrassing as it is risky for it: a united front of writers.

Nothing is further from their intention than to fight against the party. But in deciding on a public protest, they did so nevertheless only because

they found themselves forced to defend their right to live. This much is completely clear to the overwhelming majority of writers in the GDR: the issue revolves neither around Reiner Kunze, nor Wolf Biermann. Literature itself is at stake here: those who defend Biermann in the Open Letter are at the same time defending themselves.

That it should come to this letter proves how unrealistic is the instance in the GDR that decided to expatriate Biermann. And it proves moreover that the old comrades in the SED no longer know anything about tactics! They are now facing a situation in which they will be forced sooner or later to pull back. Although the writers depend on the party, the party in the communist world depends on the writers.

Further developments of course cannot be predicted. But the faster the SED leadership gets together with the writers in its own country (and the faster it thus gives in), the less will be the GDR's loss of prestige which is unavoidable anyway.

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CSO: 8020/0327

EAST GERMANY

BIERMANN AFFAIR REVEALS INTERNAL DISSENSION

Havemann Letter to Honecker

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 29 Nov 76 p 126

[Text] Following the expulsion of Wolf Biermann from the GDR, Robert Havemann, critic of the regime and former professor of chemistry, wrote a letter to Erich Honecker appealing for the song writer to be given permission to return to East Berlin. Havemann, a communist expelled by the SED in 1964, had been Honecker's cell mate in Brandenburg jail during the Nazi era. Below the text of the letter:

Robert Havemann
1252 Gruenheide/Mark
Burgwallstrasse 5
18 November 1976

Dear Comrade Erich Honecker:

For the second time this year I am writing to ask you to change a decision affecting one individual. It is a request which takes into account the great responsibility you bear. My aim is not so much to help this particular individual as to deflect the disgrace and damage which threaten all of us as well as the reputation of our state. I feel encouraged to address this letter to you because last spring the writer Siegmur Faust was freed from detention immediately following my letter, an action of yours which I greatly appreciate.

Today I am concerned about the expulsion of my closest friend, the poet and singer Wolf Biermann. Wolf Biermann has many good friends among the outstanding writers and artists of the GDR. Some of the most prominent have already spoken up for him in public, many more signatories to the appeal on his behalf have come forward, and the list of names is growing hourly. All of them have done this because they, as well as hundreds of other less well known people, know Wolf Biermann very well, from close to, and therefore know that all these accusations and suspicions of his being an enemy of the GDR are simply nonsense. Wolf Biermann is a critic, a serious and acerbic critic.

But has it not always been the case that our best comrades handle the weapon of criticism most relentlessly, especially when it comes to revealing our own mistakes and errors? Wolf Biermann exercises that kind of criticism, communist criticism. Whoever feels unable to accept it thereby admits that he has nothing to counter it with except brute force.

After 10 years of silence about Wolf Biermann who was a nonperson and alleged to have been forgotten, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND has been devoting several columns to him for the last 3 days. The Western live radio and television broadcasts of his appearance at the great entertainment event arranged by the IG [industrial labor union] Metal in Cologne completely refute the assertion that Wolf Biermann is an enemy of the GDR. Do you realize that you have now made him the idol of millions of young people in the GDR? Today he somehow embodies the last great hope for a socialism they had ceased to even dream of. Do not destroy that hope! Show the necessary generosity which nobody believes you have and allow back the uncomfortable Wolf Biermann into the state to which all his passionate love is devoted! With socialist greetings.

Conflict Seen Within SED Leadership

Bonn DIE WELT in German 20 Nov 76 p 2

[Text] In the sign of the growing general indignation and the protest movement of formerly loyal intellectuals concerning the "expulsion" of Wolf Biermann, the political dimension of this decision moves increasingly to the fore. We are seeing an explosive conflict within the leadership of the party and government apparatus regarding future domestic and foreign policy. It is a matter of power; the "Biermann case" is merely the trigger.

The SED has in fact never denied that it feels itself the victim rather than a participant in the "detente policy" engaged in since the early 1970's. The regime has been maneuvered into inevitable constraint consequent upon the modification of the demarcation system forced on them by treaties, the international discussion of the result of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the strategies and possibilities of "Eurocommunism": How much freedom of movement can it permit within its realm before this factor detonates a finally uncontrollable "civil rights movement" against tutelage and loss of freedom?

Even at the time when the system was at its most rigid, the crucial debates in the Politburo of the party circled around this problem. This 19-man leadership group quite frequently arrives at decisions by vote; and if there is anything to the reports leaking out about the actors and actions of this body, the differences on the tactically "correct" internal and external course to be steered have become exacerbated since the end of the 1960's.

The advocates of greater severity obviously consider the time ripe to send out a first ruthless signal in that direction, even at the price of the

conceivable effect of a hard-to-confine expression of solidarity. The rulers cannot prevent Biermann's expulsion from becoming a hot topic in the GDR and--something of even more serious consequence--obtaining particular importance in connection with the discussion on applications for emigration or travel to the West.

The painfulness of this discussion becomes even more evident when we consider that the government has so far suppressed any news of the consequences of the scandal, the open protest of the GDR writers. Despite all the eloquent diatribes against the Pinochet regime not one word is published in the party press about the draft resolution submitted to the U.N. Human Rights Commission and signed by the GDR, which condemns the expulsions from Chile and calls on the Chilean Government to restore the citizenships it had withdrawn.

The rising tide of protest--even prominent actors have added their signatures--renders the regime's dilemma more acute: If it takes back the verdict on Biermann, this would be tantamount to declaring the bankruptcy of the system to its own people. If it defends the expulsion, it must expect stiffening resistance from the "constructively critical" section of its following. The views of the power brokers must lead to a power struggle. And as the result of this test can hardly be in doubt, given the precarious internal situation, the leadership must follow suit also with respect to its treaty partner Bonn.

If it throttles back freedom of movement in the non-treaty sector--for example for travel to the West or family reunions--, there will be obvious consequences for inner-German policy matters such as the services to be rendered by Bonn in the economic-financial sector. If the tightening of the screws proceeds at the expense of people, the currently valid concept of trade with the Federal Republic, a considerable contribution to the planned gradual improvement of the people's standard of living, will cease to function. If that were to happen Honecker's authority would be subject to discussion, because it was he who issued the original prescription. Once again as in Ulbricht's later years (although for different reasons), the GDR will become the Soviet Union's problem child.

Attack on State Power

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 24 Nov 76 p 1

[Text] It seemed easy last week to interpret the "expulsion" from the GDR of political song writer Biermann as an act of weakness and fear of the East Berlin leadership: Unable any longer to bear the cutting criticism pronounced by one of their very own communists, it had to get rid of the uncomfortable man one way or the other. That explanation is correct, but it does not penetrate to the heart of the matter. What exactly is that weakness which required the case to be settled, and what is the fear which drove party and government functionaries toward escalation instead of appeasement and silence? The ghostly parade of letters praising the decision, sent in by prominent

and not so prominent writers and published on entire pages of the party newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND offers no clue to comprehension.

The method of "criticism and autocriticism" has been adopted again--in blatantly Stalinist manner--between the Elbe and the Oder and is being used quite openly as an instrument of party education. This must mean that East Berlin's leadership and, at the same time the Soviets, have glimpsed an abyss. There is bound to be more cause for alarm than offensive songs accompanied by the guitar and an--admittedly spectacular and unprecedented--declaration of solidarity with the severely reprimanded man by some dozens of well known intellectuals. The top bodies of the SED and their security organs must have been badly frightened by the shaking of the political soil which they believed to be quite firm. The submissive addresses reveal this. They talk of rigging "a kind of Polit underground," and also mention that Biermann and his sympathizers had laid "an ax to the roots" of the socialist society and worked on a "time bomb" against communism, the Soviet Union and the GDR. "The political core became quite obvious: The attack against the power of our state."

Though German communists have always tended toward exaggeration, we must take this kind of language seriously, at least as evidence of much insecurity among the leadership. In fact no "imperialism"--whatever that may mean--nor any "class enemy" is anything like as dangerous to them as the insecurity of their own foundations. For the past months, possibly since the summer conference of the European communist parties in East Berlin, the leadership has no longer known quite how much support it really has among its own rank and file for that model of socialism which they have so consistently advocated in their realm. As in Ulbricht's times, but much more dangerously, some SED cadres are articulating hopes for a "third approach," for a better socialism.

The much greater danger of such inclinations in the 1970's as compared to the 1950's--and that is something which cannot have escaped the Soviet fraternal party--lies in the concert of the West German socialist and West European communists with the unreliable party members in the GDR. If Biermann's poetry, however obscure, acquires material influence in the GDR as well as in West Germany, one of the warnings sounded in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND would be only too justified: It might turn out that the removal of the--current--socialist society in the GDR "is a cause postponed but not abandoned."

This is at the root of the Biermann case. He has become the catalyzing agent. It is no longer just a matter of his heretical songs nor of the exact number of approving intellectuals who, there just as here, tend to overestimate their influence: It is all a matter of power. Especially in Germany the crux of the matter is the possibility that in the two separate parts an anti-Moscow socialist left may make common cause and even talk of "unity." Never was there a better reason for the promoters of the Soviet model of socialism in Germany to fall back on naked Stalinism.

The new factor in the situation is that it offers far less cause for satisfaction to the West than other embarrassments suffered by East Berlin and Moscow. The friends of freedom and pluralism in Germany are obviously much better served by those communists who do not provoke the baying hounds, that is the three parties loyal to Moscow: SED, DKP and SEW. In Germany these have so far most usefully kept in check both left socialism and communism. If they no longer carry out this function, and if an apparently respectable German left socialism joins with a "white" communism here, at the same time relying on a broad stratum of silent cadres in the GDR, the left political landscape in the Federal Republic will become unrecognizable. The right has already changed substantially in recent days. Something is on the move in Germany, and a socialist left is emerging in both halves.

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EAST GERMANY

GDR FOLLOWS MOSCOW'S INSTRUCTIONS

Bonn DIE WELT in German 3 Dec 76 p 1 DW

[Werner Kahl Bonn Dispatch]

[Excerpt] The Soviet leadership assured SED State Council Chairman Erich Honecker of its unrestricted support in his action against regime critics. According to reports received in West Berlin, Soviet advisers maintain permanent contacts with GDR party and government authorities in order to solve the domestic political difficulties quickly.

Kremlin instructions to the SED are given by the CPSU Central Committee via the Soviet Embassy located in Unter den Linden Street. The chief of the international department for relations with ruling parties, Katushev, is responsible for this in Moscow. He is in contact with Moscow's ambassador in East Berlin, Abrasimov, the former chief of the cadre department of the CPSU Central Committee, who is considered to be a man of the party apparatus. According to East Bloc diplomats, events in the GDR and in Poland have priority for the work of the Kremlin "crisis staff" over other international problems.

The State Security Service and the KGB are investigating in joint operations the size of regime criticism and open enmity in central Germany. The lower and medium echelons of SED functionaries and of tolerated "bourgeois" parties have heard more criticism of the publicity attained by artists and intellectuals, reports say. The Soviets in East Berlin demand that discussion must be curtailed and not held "on open market."

According to recent reports, the number of citizens kept in GDR prisons because of political violations increased again this fall. According to recent estimates some 6,000 inhabitants of the GDR are kept in prisons or under arrest awaiting trial for political reasons.

CSO: 2300

HAGER ADDRESSES CONFERENCE ON TASKS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Nov 76 p 3 AU

[Report on speech by Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, delivered at a social sciences conference of the Central Committee in Berlin on 25 November]

[Text] "The Ninth SED Congress posed the Marxist-Leninist social sciences of the GDR great, responsible tasks. It called on them to actively participate in the further shaping of the developed socialist society, in the struggle against imperialism and bourgeois ideology. At this conference we want to deliberate on how the Ninth Party Congress decisions can most effectively be implemented by the social scientists in their theoretical and ideopolitical work."

After Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, had praised the social scientists' performance in the past years and since the Ninth Party Congress, he stated: "I wish to avail myself of the opportunity at this conference to convey to our republic's social scientists the gratitude and recognition of the Central Committee and its general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker, for their contribution to the theory and practice of socialism, to the scientific direction of society, to the spiritual life of our people and to the struggle against imperialism."

At the beginning of the first part of his speech Kurt Hager assessed the Ninth Party Congress as a milestone in the history of the SED and the GDR.

"The importance of the party congress lies primarily in that it posed the task of further shaping the socialist society in the GDR and thus creating fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism. This determined the course for a period of time that includes several five-year plans. This target gives the GDR people a clear and secure perspective.

"In the new party program and in the accountability report of the Central Committee the party congress determined, at the same time, the party's strategy and tactics for attaining this goal. As Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee, stressed in his concluding

speech, 'The foremost commandment of our policy is and remains the benefit of the workers class and all working people, the happiness of the people in peace and socialism.' This orientation manifests itself in the consistent pursuance of the course embarked upon by the Eighth Party Congress, namely the continuous improvement of the people's material and cultural living conditions, and the unity of economic and social policy."

After the speaker had dealt extensively with the topics "Dialectics of Socialism and Communism," "Objective Conditions and Subjective Factors," and "The Main Contents of Our Epoch," he turned to the development of the international balance of power and said:

"The sharp contrast between the successful development of socialism and the historical hopelessness of imperialism is today more obvious than ever. The legend of capitalism which was stable and free of crises was the main topic of bourgeois ideologists and politicians until a very few years ago. They trumpeted to the world that capitalism was developing completely differently from the forecasts of Marx, Engels and Lenin. And what has remained of all this?

"In the course of the last few decades the general crisis of capitalism has constantly deteriorated. The economic balance of power is changing in favor of socialism. In 1975 the socialist countries' share in world industrial production was some 34 percent, against 20 percent in 1950. In a whole number of important branches of production the Soviet Union has assumed first place in the world. Important qualitative changes have taken place in the revolutionary world process through the victory of the Vietnamese people, the collapse of the colonial system, the growth of the national liberation movements and the aggravation of the class struggles in the capitalist countries. In this situation erupted the worst international cyclical overproduction crisis of capitalism since World War II and there was a peculiar kind of interlacing of the general and the cyclical crisis.

"The revolutionary process which is directed at a renewal of the world under the sign of peace, democracy and social progress has brought about sharp changes during the past few years. This manifests itself in the progress in implementing peaceful coexistence between states of different social systems. Imperialism has been forced to adapt itself to the new balance of power and to accept the conditions of peaceful coexistence. At the same time it is trying to misuse them for rallying its own forces and for regaining lost positions. Particularly its most aggressive forces resist the continuation of detente, aggravate the arms race, resist the materialization of detente in arms limitation and disarmament and are fanning an unbridled anticommunist and antiSoviet slander campaign. The aggressive revanchist forces of imperialism in the FRG are openly interfering with the domestic affairs of the GDR and do not hide the fact that it is their goal to eliminate the first socialist state on German soil.

"There is no alternative to the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence. It is therefore an urgent task of social sciences to advocate a restriction of the arms race, disarmament and peaceful coexistence with convincing arguments.

"The successes of socialism, the firmness of the socialist state and social system, and particularly the effects of the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community, are a thorn in imperialism's side. Under the current conditions the ideological struggle between socialism and imperialism is growing more complicated and gaining in scope and intensity. In their struggle against socialism and its peace policy, against all revolutionary, democratic and progressive movements of our time the imperialists are using anticommunism and anti-Sovietism as their main weapon.

"The anticommunist ideology and propaganda pursues the goal of slandering actually existing socialism, of exaggerating temporary difficulties in building the socialist society, of undermining proletarian internationalism, fanning nationalism, pitting the socialist countries against each other and separating them from the alliance with the Soviet Union.

"Revisionist and ultra-leftist theories and slogans are increasingly being used for this. Imperialist propaganda believes this is successful because the revisionists and the 'ultra-leftist' loudmouths are attacking the actually existing socialism under the cover of an alleged solidarity (verbundenheit) with socialism. On the other hand these alleged communists and supporters of socialism do not shrink from using the bourgeoisie's mass media to spread their slander against socialism as it actually exists.

"The attempts to create a breeding ground for antisocialist and revisionist ideologies in the GDR is doomed to failure. The GDR is a stable state with a dynamically developing economy, a high standard of science, education and culture. It is firmly anchored in the alliance with the Soviet Union and in the socialist community of states. Its social and state system is based on the leading role of the workers class and the firm alliance of the workers class with all other working people. Within the brief period of its development socialism has clearly proved itself as the only social system that can resolve the fundamental social problems. True, there are still shortcomings and difficulties in daily life which must be overcome and which can also be mastered by joint work as demonstrated by the GDR's successful development in the past years. But it is beyond dispute that socialism insures the increasingly better satisfaction of a number of vital needs such as full employment and labor safety, care of the society for recreation, education and health, and protection for mothers and children. It guarantees equal rights for women, full implementation of the rights of youth, and social security for senior citizens. Socialism insures for the working people access to the treasures of national and world culture and guarantees for them true democracy and freedom. It insures comprehensive rights and freedoms for the personality with limits drawn only where a transgression would harm the interests of the socialist society."

In the second part of his speech Kurt Hager dealt at first with the social aspect of our policy and said:

"The main result of the party's policy since the Eighth Party Congress is undoubtedly the fact that it succeeded in placing economic development consistently at the service of the better satisfaction of the people's material and cultural needs. It is certainly one of the most important merits of the social sciences in the past years that they have rendered valuable aid to the party in bringing about a deep understanding everywhere of the main task, in further working out its practical consequences, which in many respects required a complete rethinking, a new approach to the tasks of economic development.

"Unity of social and economic policy, however, does not mean merely a purposeful and effective transformation of scientific findings into social progress. It must be listed among the most important results of the policy of the party that it succeeded under its leadership in transforming social progress into social energy, into social activity, into visible spiritual-cultural progress. This, in turn, reflected back with growing intensity upon economic progress. This policy's great importance and scope is not only reflected in the 28 percent increase of the population's net monetary income since 1971, while prices for basic foodstuffs, rents and services remained stable, but also in the doubling of the number of innovators and their economic results, and in the number of visitors to our museums and exhibitions which increased by a third, and so forth. All this is also a considerable ideological gain."

Kurt Hager declared that the socialist economy is always oriented toward performance, and growth and he substantiated in this connection the following four aspects:

"1--Socialism is unthinkable without the people's having a high material and cultural living standard. Why do the masses strive for socialism? Certainly because they strive for a better life, a life in peace and freedom, without oppression and exploitation, a life in social security and safety. Our concept of socialism is far from a so-called 'consumer society' but equally from an ascetic 'poverty society.' A high standard of living, a high material and cultural living standard are attributes of socialism and enhance its attractive force for the masses in the countries of imperialism.

"2--The performance principle is aimed at increasingly better meeting the working people's needs. What matters here are goods of good quality, purposefulness, beautiful design and durability.

"3--The performance principle promotes the working people's creative initiative for boosting labor productivity and their interest in improving their own qualifications. It stimulates implementation of the socialist intensification of our national economy. He who himself experiences that good work pays will do his best. Whosoever does a lot for society should himself also be able to do something for himself.

"4--Naturally we are not overlooking that at the present level of our society modes of thinking and attitudes might arise that are not in accordance with socialism. The effects of the inherent evils of the old, outdated society prove to be very tenacious. In addition, the enemy is constantly trying to export his ideology and way of life into socialism. It is all the more necessary not to trust in the 'automatic' effects of the performance principle. Socialist effects arise only in the right connection with effective ideological work. This requires also the consistent implementation in all spheres of socialist legality, and an increase of order and security.

"A thorough and differentiated research into the objective accord of social collective and personal interests and their increased awareness of this is in this connection an essential subject for the social sciences."

After Kurt Hager had extensively dealt with economic sciences, he spoke on basic problems of the development of science:

"The main factor of intensification, which decisively influences the resolving of all other tasks is the acceleration of scientific-technical progress. The demanding goals of social development in the new program of our party include bigger tasks for science and technology that are more far-reaching than what has been achieved so far.

"It is thus not accidental that the Ninth Party Congress stressed the importance of basic research and applied research as well as research cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA countries. What matters is a further increase of the level of scientific-technical performance and the rapid and most effective application of the results in the national economy and in social practice. In this connection all potentials must be activated which have a positive influence on the development of science and technology."

The speaker listed a number of these problems that require a complex approach: "First, a study of all factors that make an increase in the effectiveness of scientific research possible. This includes the conditions for creative theoretical work, a higher qualification standard of the research cadres, as well as the material foundations and the direction, planning and organization of scientific work.

"Second, problems of cooperation of basic research, applied research, technical and technological development and production. The main issue here is the development and promotion of the most progressive methods of cooperation of science and production which make possible a rapid utilization and a high economic effectiveness of the research results. As an example one may list here the cooperation of the Academy of Sciences with the Carl Zeiss Jena VEB in the 'Raduga' experiment (Soyuz 22, multispectral camera MKF 6). Special attention should be devoted to all questions connected with the stimulation of scientific-technical research.

"Third, problems of organic linkage of the gains of the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism. As is known, there is today no aspect of human endeavor that is not influenced by the scientific-technical revolution. But its scientific-technical, economic, political and social consequences, its effects on man, on the character of work, education and culture, as well as its forms differ qualitatively under socialism and under capitalism.

"It has become clear that science and technology add no essential qualities either to capitalism or to socialism, nor do they take any such qualities away from them, that scientific-technical progress cannot eliminate the crisis phenomena and the social antagonism of imperialism but that it even aggravates them, and that, on the contrary, it constitutes the decisive material basis for the increasing maturity of the socialist system."

Kurt Hager then dealt in particular with the need for close collaboration between the Marxist-Leninist philosophers and the natural scientists, discussed the growing role and tasks of psychology and expounded on scientific problems of the relationship between man and his environment. He dealt extensively with the leading role of the workers class and with the classes and state in the GDR coming closer together, as well as with the new tasks of Marxist-Leninist sociology resulting from all this. He stated in connection with questions related to the development of the socialist states and socialist democracy.

"The attacks on democracy and freedom under socialism are multiplying in the imperialist mass media of the FRG, combined with flagrant attempts at interfering in internal GDR affairs on the part of leading politicians. This is not coming out of nothing. Even years ago the representatives of reformist and conservative social state concepts fell one over another as to who could best cope with outstanding economic and social problems. In social practice, however, no prescription proved capable of making capitalism free of crises or worthy of man. All the sweet-sounding promises of 'more democracy,' safe jobs, price stability turned out to be empty promises in the whirlpool of the capitalist crisis.

"Today bourgeois ideologists are increasingly unable to deny the economic and social successes in the socialist states. Thus they recognize one or another socialist measure while defaming all the more violently the essence of our system: the political power of the workers class and of the classes and strata allied with it.

"With implementation in practice of the socialist democracy the decisive Marxist-Leninist perception is expressed that the freedom of the people is primarily a problem of the actual political class and power relations in society. The developed socialist society opens up new conditions and prerequisites with which humanism, democracy and freedom receive a pithier content for both society as a whole and the individual. The Ninth SED Congress laid down a comprehensive program for the further perfection of socialist democracy as the main direction of development of the socialist state power."

The speaker dealt extensively with the development of spiritual life in our republic and stressed:

"The clear-cut shaping of the advantages and historical superiority of socialism will cause socialism to occupy even firmer positions in the ideas of men. The values of socialism which reflect its actual achievements and their cardinal importance for a free life which is truly worthy of man are becoming personal convictions and yardsticks for actions in the consciousness of increasingly more people.

"The comprehensible and convincing imparting of the fundamental findings of Marxism-Leninism provides the working people with a clear orientation to find their bearings in the present social processes and to form well-founded judgments. Therefore the concept-of-the-world content of the party's ideological work must be intensified in the future. In the spirit of the decision of the Ninth Party Congress the continuous publication of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, above all of the historical-critical general edition of Marx' and Engels' works (mega) acquires an even greater political-ideological importance. This is an important contribution that we are making for the communists and workers movement and for the ideological contest with the adversaries of Marxism-Leninism, above all with the bourgeois Marxology."

Kurt Hager stated emphatically: "In keeping with the internationalist nature of Marxism-Leninism, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism are inseparably linked in our concept of the world. With the socialist revolution the working people have acquired their own fatherland for the first time in history. This historical achievement finds expression in the love and readiness to commit oneself for the socialist fatherland. By its essence socialist patriotism is inseparable from proletarian internationalism. It proceeds from the fact that the construction of the socialist society in every individual country serves the strengthening of the socialist community of states whose consolidation and further development in turn constitute the most important condition for the further advancement of socialism in every country. The most important aspect of proletarian internationalism is the inviolable friendship and collaboration with the Soviet Union. Our relations with the other countries of the socialist community are imbued with the same spirit.

"Socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism require at the same time the struggle against bourgeois nationalism as demanded in the party program. Bourgeois nationalism is still one of the preferred ideological weapons of imperialism in the struggle against the workers movement and actually existing socialism.

"A typical example of this is the thesis cultivated in the FRG of the alleged continuation of a 'one [einheitliche] German nation.' This thesis presents the nation as an alleged 'community of will, destiny and culture.' The propagandists of such concepts deliberately deny that the content of

a nation is primarily determined by objective-material, economic, social and political factors rather than by subjective, emotional and psychological aspects. The spokesmen of imperialism in the FRG do not want to acknowledge the fact that with the socialist transformation in the GDR also a socialist German nation is taking shape which is firmly and irrevocably anchored in the community of socialist nations. In the FRG, however, the old capitalist nation with its antagonistic class contradictions continues to exist on the basis of the imperialist ruling system.

"The apparent 'concern' over the 'unity of the nation' destroyed by imperialism itself hides nothing else but the old, well-known imperialist goal to eliminate the socialist GDR and to reestablish the power of FRG imperialism as far as the Oder and beyond. What does the thesis of 'keeping the German question open' actually mean? It means that its advocates have not abandoned their hope of bringing about the reunification of Germany in accordance with their own concept, that means following the model of the FRG, or, in other words, with the goal of reestablishing the imperialist German state within the 1937 borders. It means further that the basic treaty and other treaties in which the FRG recognized the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the GDR are for the advocates of this thesis merely scraps of paper that can be torn up at the first suitable opportunity. This is purest revanchism.

"Thus in principle this is a deeply counterrevolutionary concept which is not only directed against socialism on the soil of the GDR but against the entire socialist community.

"Naturally we would have nothing against it if the GDR were not to remain the only socialist German state. But this depends on the development and the struggle of the class forces for fundamental social changes in the FRG the duration of which cannot be predicted. One thing is certain: the first socialist worker-peasant state on German soil, the GDR, will forever be part of the community of socialist states."

After Kurt Hager had dealt with questions of the development of the awareness of history among youth, of the tasks of linguists in nurturing the socialist culture of language, and the growing cultural interests of the working people, he discussed in the third part of his speech at first the crisis of capitalism.

"The nature of the general crisis of capitalism manifests itself in three fundamental processes: first, in the constantly growing influence of the socialist world system on the international scene and the weakening of the positions of capitalism resulting from this; second, the crisis and the collapse of the imperialist colonial system; and third, the constantly aggravating internal contradictions of the capitalist social system. It is a comprehensive crisis of capitalism, and particularly of its economic foundations, which manifests itself at the same time with increasing clarity as a crisis of the superstructure, as political and ideological crisis, as

a crisis of morality and culture. The cyclical crisis that has shaken the capitalist economy during the past few years has by no means been overcome.

"First, the temporary production increase has not eliminated inflation and the currency crisis. On the contrary, particularly the state-monopolist economic measures have led to an increase of state debts and to a renewed acceleration of inflation. Living costs in the most important capitalist countries continue to rise. This undermines the revival of the economy from the very beginning.

"Second, unemployment has spread further. In many cases concerns have used investments for rationalization measures to release more labor. In some countries such as Great Britain, the United States and France this made the number of unemployed increase further. The number of fully unemployed in the FRG is hovering around the million limit.

"Third, the great number of unemployed is an important means of pressure for a general attack on the income of the workers launched by monopolist capital.

"The Ninth SED Congress has assessed the present crisis of the capitalist economy as going far beyond the scope of a cyclical crisis. This means that those sources of the economic crisis that directly result from the general crisis will continue to exist and be effective even if, in the course of the cycle, production temporarily increases. The past few months have confirmed this assessment. The exacerbation of the contradictions of imperialism is linked with the appearance of a number of new phenomena to which social scientists in the future should devote more attention."

The speaker then extensively discussed questions of the revolutionary world process and of the communist movement. He gave an assessment of the role of social democracy and demonstrated the lack of prospects of the bourgeois ideology.

The fourth and last part of his speech dealt with the effectiveness of social sciences. On this occasion Kurt Hager especially stressed the need of interdepartmental research.

"Actually, the situation is this: while on the one hand the problems are becoming more and more intricate, they are essentially tackled on the basis of the conventional structure of scientific institutions. Hence it is worthwhile to give some thought to the question of how effective allowance can be made for the intricate tasks in research while at the same time promoting and including what has proved useful in the past. It seems to me that here such paths as standardized concepts for a problem jointly worked out by several departments, the working out of comprehensive research programs to be implemented jointly by several departments, the establishment of interdepartmental research collectives with varying status for working on joint projects, should be pursued with greater determination."

Kurt Hager stressed the need for growing cooperation with the social scientists of the Soviet Union and other socialist states, and summed up:

"The party organizations should concentrate their ideopolitical work primarily on utilizing more and more completely all subjective and objective factors for raising the theoretical level and the societal effectiveness of social science work. At all scientific institutions conditions are to be created which result in a further upsurge in the development of the creative atmosphere, of businesslike dispute and struggling for effective solutions. What is necessary is the further development of socialist communal work, the uncovering of reserves for increasing the capacity of scientists' collectives, so that the ambitious tasks can be fulfilled in high quality and punctually."

Concerning the work of social scientists in the field of agitation and propaganda, Kurt Hager stressed:

"The unity of theory and practice, and thus the propagation and application of achieved results is inherent in the nature of social science work. Were the founders of our revolutionary science not at the same time its most convincing and most active propagators? Our social scientists, their leading bodies and the editorial boards should cooperate even more closely so as to fully utilize the possibilities of effective theoretical-ideological work, and to live up to the growing spiritual demands. What we need are publications that breathe the creative and militant spirit of Marxism-Leninism, that analyze and generalize the wealth of practical experience, that answer newly arising questions, and that provide stimuli for societal practice.

"In alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, the GDR and its actually existing socialist social system will continue to grow, flourish and prosper--even if this is disliked by its opponents. And to this the GDR social scientists will make their contribution."

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

VERNER, NAUMANN, OTHERS ADDRESS YOUTH LEADERS

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4/5 Dec 76 p 5

[Summary] A training course was held from 29 November to 3 December in Kleinmachnow at which experiences and tasks arising from the implementation of the conclusions of the Ninth SED Congress occupied the main attention. Leading officials of the FDJ, others responsible for youth affairs in the FDGB and in state organs and the mass media, as well as heads of the youth and sports commissions of the SED's bezirk, kreis, city and city district organizations took part in the course.

"Paul Verner, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, opened the 5-day exchange of opinions with a report on experiences and tasks in realizing the conclusions of the ninth party congress. The following also spoke during the training course: Konrad Naumann, SED Central Committee Politburo member; Egon Krenz and Gerhard Schuerer, SED Central Committee Politburo candidate members; Wolfgang Herger, Bruno Kiesler, Paul Markowski and Hermann Poeschel, SED Central Committee members; Rudi Hellmann and Ursula Ragwitz, SED Central Committee section heads, as well as responsible commanders of the National People's Army."

Those in attendance discussed the participation of youth in forming the developed socialist society and the communist upbringing of youth.

CSO: 2300

MEANING OF PATRIOTISM, INTERNATIONALISM EXPLAINED

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 31 Oct 76 p 1

[Article by Erno Keseru: "Patriotism, Internationalism"]

[Text] We can take many different approaches in attempting to answer the question: who is the good patriot today. We could devote pages to listing the dozens of character traits and the multitude of obligations, which all have a bearing on our way of thinking, our work-ethic, our relationship to the native land, our sense of community responsibility and our principled position. However, if we classify the indicators and the criteria by content, they will create three significant groups. To characterize each of them succinctly and comprehensively, the report published concerning the last meeting of the Central Committee of the MSZMP offers a sentence:

"Our party, our working class is the inheritor and the continuer of every progressive historical tradition, the trustee of every genuine value of our national past." This sentence clearly expresses the correct manner of relating to our past, to the great individuals of our nation, to the decisive events in our history, and what our tasks are in order to provide, out of these values, an emotional and intellectual heritage for our youth. We have passed the debates about whether there is a need for de-heroization or not, or about whether we should use those as examples for our youth who committed brave deeds centuries ago, or the heroes of 1919, the labor movement and the resistance. During those debates many faulty views came to the surface, yet they were not useless verbiage: they brought about clear vision, realistic national autognosis, the increased objectivity of our historical view. Today, our evaluations, our allocations of each decisive event in our history is more accurate, we can provide a better picture of the battle of Mohacs, or the Rakoczi war of independence as well as the deeds of the Hungarian International Brigade or of Hungarian resistance. In this field, we still have debts and responsibilities.

The following sentence from the bulletin of the Central Committee offers itself as a motto to precede another set of conditions which are to

characterize the good patriot: "The great stimulating strength of our constructive effort is that active socialist patriotism, which means community activity, work and constant readiness for the service of the country." The stimulating strength is concrete reality, it is evidenced in the successful completion of plans, in the unselfish volunteer labor undertaken to develop the villages and the cities, in the movement of socialist work-brigades, in the patronage of youth organizations and in the well-executed combat maneuvers of our army. However, in spite of the fine results we can list here, we can hardly be satisfied. There are still quite a few of those among us who only talk, instead of acting, who belittle the efforts of their own people, and who, hearing the call to action, stand aside. We can hardly help those who have already acquired this attitude. Consequently, we must focus our attention on the young people, so that every one of them can see: their acceptance of responsibility in their work and in their studies, their activities in public life can enrich the national heritage.

The third sentence is: "Patriotism and proletarian internationalism are two aspects of our commitment to our system and our ideals, as well as fundamental requirements in the struggle for building a socialist society and the worldwide victory of communism." The results of the work to create new attitudes and new men, which has continued for three decades, are demonstrated here, too; primarily in our relationships to socialist countries. There are those who accept this tenet intellectually, having realized, for example, that an increasing economic integration is a requirement of our time, that the defense of the socialist system can only be guaranteed by a great power, such as the one represented by the Warsaw Pact. Others identify with this principle on emotional grounds; they keep in mind the common past, the common objectives, the common ideology, and the mutual need for support. Naturally, there are those who partially or completely fail to realize the indivisibility of socialist patriotism from internationalism. In dialogues with them, the following two words often come up: national interest. It is imperative for progress that as many groups of our society as possible understand this concept correctly. We quote from the position-paper of the Cultural-Political Panel attached to the Central Committee of the MSZMP: "Points of national and international interest are simultaneously present in the policies of each socialist country, as well as in the policy of the socialist camp. International interest cannot be separated from the interests of each socialist country.... Their harmony, however, is not realized automatically; in each case, national interests of socialist countries must be brought into accord with the general, universal interests of socialism. If presumed, or momentarily real, national interests prevail to the detriment of international interests, in the long run not only the international interest, but the interest of the given socialist society will suffer. In the historical sense, no socialist country can gain by the loss of another socialist country. Infringement upon the common international interests of socialism or the misrepresentation that they 'endanger' national interests and prevent the assertion of national characteristics--originate from, or result in nationalism."

The People's Front movement also has a task, and it is mentioned in the resolution of the Sixth Congress; it should make people consciously aware that socialist patriotism is the unbreakable unity encompassing the traditional and the contemporary, the national and the international.

8882

CS0: 2500

POLAND

SZSP MEETING CENTERS ON POLITICAL ACTIVITIES AMONG STUDENTS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Oct 76 pp 1, 8

[Article by (bor): "Student Contribution to Life in the City and the Country"]

[Text] "Ordinary work creates unusual things and decides the nation's successes"--this quotation from the speech of the First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Edward Gierek became the motto of the conference of the SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students] leadership which took place on Monday, 11 October.

Student representatives from all city universities participated in this conference which was also attended by the member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the PZPR First Secretary of the Executive Committee Jozef Kepa, by the member of the PZPR Central Committee Secretariat, Chairman of the Main Council of the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youths [FSZMP] Zdzislaw Kurowski, by the Secretary of the PZPR Executive Committee Jolanta Matuszewicz, and by the Chairman of the FSZMP Warsaw Council, Jerzy Boleslawski.

This conference was an important event for the SZSP city organization. It provided an opportunity to discuss and determine tasks for the coming period and to give serious thought of how to include the 78,000 Warsaw students in the realization of the social-economic development of both the capital and the country more fully and more effectively. It also started the election and public relations campaign for the Second SZSP Convention.

The necessity for active participation of student circles in all phases of life was brought up in a report by the SZSP Regional Administration Presidium and in a discussion by the representatives of the Warsaw Universities. The Warsaw students have participated in social actions for both the city and the country; they worked on the construction of the Wisla Highway, the Mokotowski Field and the Lazienkowska highway; they participated

in the "Every Grain Stalk Is Worth Its Weight in Gold" and "We Are Collecting the Harvest of Autumn" campaigns. They took part in repairs of the student dormitories at Zwirki and Wigura Streets and Narutowicz Square. The student scientific movement is being utilized more and more. Its center inspired academic initiatives in Plonsk, Ciechanow, Gora Kalwaria and Konstancin. Students performed projects in solving the transportation problems in Pruszkow and Ursus, etc. It was stated that economic effects are not the only criteria for evaluating the center's work. Above all, its importance lies in instructional and educational areas.

Student activism has also been increasing in all phases of university life; in cultural and tourist movements and in self-government. What is most important, real socioeconomic problems are more effectively tackled in instructional activity. Everything is being realized within the framework of the SZSP--a mass organization comprising more than 75 percent of youth studying at schools of higher education.

Practice has confirmed the validity of the concept of an ideo-political organization on a large scale. Student circles have always been actively interested in political and social matters. Therefore, as it was stated, it is necessary to improve the level of knowledge in this area. It is necessary to transmit more genuine political and economic information in the student press and broadcasting centers, in classes and student clubs.

Membership of students--the number of party members is growing. However, this process was evaluated at the conference as too slow.

At present, about 60 percent of the aktiv of the SZSP school group are party members. This was recognized as a good situation; however, it does not look equally well everywhere.

A lot of attention in the discussions was devoted to the matter of student self-government. It was stated that although the SZSP participation in the joint organs of universities was guaranteed by regulation, in practice the existing possibilities are used too little.

The role and tasks of the activity groups, the basic units of the SZSP, were discussed in detail during the conference. Their task is realization of self-education through specific organizational activities. The groups are to create a climate for good studying, evaluate attitudes of their members in performing duties and participate in distribution of scholarships.

During the conference, it was stated that primarily the aktiv decides the image, strength and importance of an organization. The SZSP has several thousand of activists who give their time to social action. However, more time has to be devoted to steady development of activists. Each department of the Union should work out and introduce in the next 6 months a system of educating the aktiv in order to improve their political activity techniques.

During the spring, "The Party Talks to Youth" campaign took place. It will be continued and a new campaign "Conversations About the Economy" will start. About 8,000 students staying at summer camps and participants in the Student Job Training were included in the instructional campaign. In September and October, first year students were included in the so-called "orientation days" activities. At the present time, the third Warsaw Student Days are taking place with numerous political and instructional events.

Student organization acting in the framework of the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth cooperates with the SZMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] and the ZHP [Polish Scout Union] on a day-to-day basis. Still better and more effective forms of cooperation with working youth have to be searched for. The latest accomplishment in this area is the joint participation of youth in the program of managing the Kampinoski National Park which was inspired by the PZPR Warsaw Committee. It is also worthwhile to mention the initiative in socio-trade training, thus including the students being trained at places of work in the ZSMP activities.

Zdzisław Kurowski participated in the discussion. He rated highly the activity of the capital student organization; he emphasized its accomplishment in undertaking joint initiatives with working and school youth and in cooperating with industrial plants. He underlined the need for expanding the forms of widespread education and culture, political knowledge about the country and its economic development.

The problems affecting the capital student circles were presented during the conference; further development of the SZSP depends upon solving these problems. For the organization's authority depends upon the effectiveness of its actions, the tasks being undertaken and the way they are being realized.

The member of the Central Committee Politburo First Secretary of the PZPR Executive Committee Jozef Kepa gave a speech at the end of the discussion (we shall print a summary of this speech in the next column).

8430
CSO: 2600

SOCIALIST, RELIGIOUS HUMANISMS COMPARED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 19, Oct 76 pp 23-25

[Article by University Reader Ion Pietraru: "Reforming Power of Socialist Humanism"]

[Text] Widespread, purposeful participation of workers in social management and intensified socialist democratism are a natural result of the process of continuing humanization of our social activity and advancement of the reforms of socialist, revolutionary humanism. This trend and commitment of social action are an integral part of our party's scientific, creative policy. The experience of socialist construction expresses a new characteristic of social action, namely enrichment of our cultural heritage and growing humanization of of the existence, behavior and awareness of all members of modern Romanian society.

As an ideal and an incentive in social activity, socialist humanism is based upon a new economic and political structure that is radically changing the position of the subjects of social action. They are becoming factors for purposeful reform thanks to their awareness and mastery of the general laws of nature and society.

Revolutionary humanism is rooted in the age-old struggle for freedom, justice and social and national dignity. The emergence of the working class and its revolutionary party lent the social-political effort a new and more profoundly constructive course and an objective framework for the manifestation and generalization of humanism on a national scale. Moreover the new social structure and the process of socialist leveling of society is equalizing people on the basis of socialist ownership, free labor, and active and competent participation in the management of all social activity. This is based upon the twofold capacity of the individual in our system as a producer and a direct beneficiary of the results of all social activity. Socialist humanism is promoted by the continuing effort to improve human relations through gradual abolition of social inequalities and the main class distinctions in order to meet the people's economic and cultural needs.

By suppressing private property and consequently the basis of any alienation of the human being from his essential nature, socialist construction is ending

the era wherein, as Engels said, "Any progress is also a relative regression, in which the welfare and development of some are achieved through the sufferings and oppression of the others." It is opening the era wherein, as Marx put it, "Man is the supreme being for man." Socialism is such a social system, and it is the only way to achieve the real, actual humanism of total liberation of man and fulfillment of the human personality.

Revolutionary humanism arises in the social context of labor and socialist relations, when free labor is liberated from exploitation and servitude and becomes a matter of the individual's honor and dignity, whereby he achieves his true human condition and asserts himself socially as a fully developed personality. In this connection the party documents stress the need of intensified efforts to indoctrinate the workers and youth in the spirit of respect for labor as the main means of fulfillment of the personality and moral self-improvement of every citizen. Experience tells us that in the absence of this respect in the family, school, community and human relations there are always parasitic tendencies to shirk the obligation to work and behavior in conflict with our life's principles. Introduction of practical activities in all kinds of instruction is one of the means of social implementation of indoctrination through work and for work. These activities strengthen the conviction that every one has the moral and patriotic duty to devote his entire energy, competence and creative power to the development of socialist property as the chief source of the nation's socioeconomic development and of the entire people's welfare and happiness. As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his speech at the Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture, "The old slogan 'Neither work without bread nor bread without work' must be permanently implanted in the minds of the children, youth and all citizens of Romania. It should be entered in a place of honor in all books for children and in all textbooks, and it would do no harm in our press and radio and television broadcasts either."

To be sure the effort to produce values, cooperation and collaboration on new principles of mutual aid constitute an essential factor for leveling people and the field in and through which they find themselves as truly human beings. As a component of the supreme values of socialist society, work is the thing that unites and socializes, generating a true esteem that is natural and durable and a friendship and love that are not mercenary or superficial but rational and objectively determined. In expressing the truly humanitarian character of our socialist order and its interest in indoctrinating people in the spirit of the high moral values of the new order, the party secretary general pointed out that "The essence of revolutionary humanism, as contrasted with that of bourgeois humanism which fosters the selfish instinct, individualism and the pursuit of personal welfare at the expense of one's neighbors' welfare lies in making man the object of all social activity and effort while establishing harmonious and integrated relations between the individual and the community." The human, noble and purposeful manifestation is distorted on the theoretical and practical periphery of bourgeois ideology, being reduced to behavior controlled by basic, aggressive drives or to tendencies toward withdrawal, resignation and seclusion. This situation blatantly betrays the anti-humanist trend of capitalism and its backward, historically outmoded role.

The degree of development and all-around fulfillment of the personality is proving to be one of the basic criteria for evaluating social progress today. The criteria and factors for progress cannot be specified or evaluated apart from human motives and ideals. This directly indicates how people can use the results of their labor to achieve freedom and human capacity and to develop their personalities.

Socialist and communist construction offer a sure way of man's evolution toward his all-around fulfillment. As Marx said, the true humanism coincides with the communist system, which combines the best conditions for achieving it. By committing himself to the revolutionary effort to build a new society and by understanding the laws of these historical necessities, the individual becomes "totalized" with a high degree of communist awareness, liberated from the consumerist, egocentric vices and tendencies, and enriched by cultural, political, scientific and moral standards of a higher order.

With this view of revolutionary humanism the RCP is planning a broad program of economic and political measures for the supreme purpose of full, real and practical development of the human personality. The value of the individual and the structure of humanism as such have never been more sustained and fulfilled than they are under socialism.

Ultimately the entire effort toward all-around national progress, improved production and social relations, intensified socialist democracy, and implementation of the Program of Measures To Carry Out the Decisions of the 11th Party Congress and the Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture in the Field of Ideological, Political and Educational Work is subordinated to the humanist goal of the party's policy, namely the individual's welfare, happiness and cultural development.

Our party's conception of revolutionary humanism is based upon the complete interpretation of the man in society, viewed not as an isolated individual in the sum of his individual traits but as a social being in close connection and interdependence with his neighbors and the popular masses. The true humanism does not reduce the individual to his own ego, with no ties of solidarity, cohesion or communion with his neighbors, just as it does not regard society as an impersonal, standardizing abstraction in opposition to the specific individuals. The man of the new society constantly relates to the real demands and requirements of social activity as a reforming force of the latter. The degree of understanding and especially of practical innovating effort places the man in the strictly individual concerns, in the temptations and speculative priorities in the field of revolutionary, real and social actions.

In this respect the comprehension and specific implementation of revolutionary humanism and its active power are directly related to the formation of the new man, this bold creator of high ideals, hopes and aspirations. It is a question of a human model that is not standardized, described in terms of the absolute superlative, or personalized in a mold of static values but is rather the man of creative work, firmly committed, responsible and a fighter for social progress, indispensable to the construction of the new society in Romania.

Our party's constant interest in raising the standard and effectiveness of the practical training and socialist indoctrination of youth and in improving the qualifications and knowledge of the workers in all sectors is significant in this regard. Inspired by the humanist spirit, these efforts are intended "to form a new citizen of socialist Romania, armed with the best scientific knowledge, thoroughly prepared for work and research, ready to act boldly and enthusiastically for the general development of our socialist society, and contributing to scientific progress and Romania's further development," as Nicolae Ceausescu said at the start of the new school year.

In accordance with the objective social laws and their particular manifestation in the fully developed socialist society, the human effort is taking the form of an extensive and sustained political activity for the sole purpose of forming the new man as a knowledgeable object and subject of his own history. In this connection the RCP is consistently promoting the increasingly strict enforcement of the standards and principles of socialist ethics and justice in all social activities.

Experience with socialist construction proves that the objective premises of the new order do not automatically lead to elimination of all inequalities in society or to the most complete justice. This requires, as a basic objective condition, the exercise of party leadership and implementation of the party policies of proportional distribution of the productive forces in all areas of the country and of moral and political indoctrination of the workers. An important point in our party's policy of justice is the improvement of the socialist principles of distribution of incomes according to quantity and quality of work. Both the leveling and egalitarian concept of needs and incomes and the maintenance of too great discrepancies between the living standards of the various categories of the population are foreign to socialism. This ratio has been gradually reduced by the party's measures for the general rise of incomes, especially low incomes, and it now amounts to 1:6 between the the lowest and highest incomes compared with 1:12 in 1965 and 1:20 in 1950. Stating that the entire people's greater material and cultural welfare will be a constant aim of the party policy, the documents of the 11th Party Congress provide a further increase in urban and rural workers' incomes. In this five-year plan the average nominal wage will be up 24-26 percent from 1975, while the farmers' real incomes will be up 20-25 percent per employed person.

Our party regards revolutionary humanism as a new attitude toward work, toward oneself and one's neighbors, and toward one's country and people. And the whole system of party programs (productive, scientific, political and moral-educational) is designed to form and shape the members of our society according to the masses' noble aspirations, the people's glorious past, their secure and worthy present, and their bright future. The new human model represents and expresses the power and strength of its people, and the people display the capacity, fortitude, beauty, nobility and humanist permanence of the model.

As an integral part of the construction of the new order, revolutionary humanism manifests itself in and through the relations of collaboration, esteem and mutual aid among the members of the new society. The development of socialist

Romania as a profoundly democratic framework for the development of national relations and full equality of rights among all workers regardless of nationality favors human fulfillment and the assertion of deeply patriotic and revolutionary feelings that carry on the people's advanced, progressive traditions. The radical socioeconomic, political and cultural changes that have been made in the course of building the new order and our party's Marxist-Leninist national policy have produced important reforms in the relations between Romanian workers and those of other nationalities. Collaboration and friendship among workers without distinction of nationality have been constantly consolidated and developed in the united effort to build socialism in the common fatherland.

If it is to be achieved in its main proportions, the progress of human freedom requires, from one historical stage to another, revolutionary abolition of the conditions that obstruct and sometimes prevent social and national equality. In this respect revolutionary activity is the way the historical-social events are specifically correlated with the requirements for forming the kinds of personalities that can bring about the most social progress.

The ideas and actions of the real bearers of humanism have gone through many historical stages, some noteworthy and others utopian, and they have often faced difficult periods. But they never departed from their firm belief in the power and capacity of man to fulfill himself and to subdue and master nature. Consequently an important part is played in promoting the principles of humanism by materialist education of the masses and the struggle with mysticism and idealistic conceptions taken on faith.

In its essence and established form, religion avoided confrontation with science and often opposed the rules of science, specific aspirations to freedom, and efforts toward social and national emancipation. The so-called religious "humanism," as a communitary form of fideism, ran through some popular movements in history without succeeding in entering into their evolution. But the theoretical "arguments," pleas and efforts of the fideists to present religious morality as one of mankind in general (humanist by virtue of dogmatized norms or pacifist attitudes toward the current problems of the struggle for emancipation, peace and social justice) are incompatible with the aspirations of the man of our era and his creative nature. Religious "humanism" did not cease to encourage, plead and attract man to a certain kind of action, but instead of realistic and useful actions and commitments the theological doctrine shifts the results of human effort toward fate, discrediting man and his social product, his creativeness, and his innovating, revolutionary power. Here, where commandments and imperatives to respect general human feelings are very calmly decreed, actually lies the inducement to discrepancies between word and deed, harboring the most gullible confusion of them.

To be sure riches, violence, greed, inhumanity and even political inequality are decried through inducements and commandments, whereas actually they are not essentially affected. At any rate, humility and detachment, the by-products of abstract religious "humanism" (declared by some or supported by others), are proving to be illusions in constant opposition to real social progress. And according to the contemporary theological doctrines, freedom does not depend on rational and practical regulation of the objective social requirements but on the attitude of submission and acceptance of grace and divine revelation.

But freedom of human action, extrapolated "beyond" the real, human medium and falsified by the forms of abstract humanism, is possible only within the collective, social freedom. It does not develop in purely pragmatic, isolated and mystical forms but through effective general and specific comprehension of the necessity and the objective social laws, and any attempt to contrast individual with general freedom is erroneous and harmful. Rational regulation of the social necessities is indispensable to human happiness, and it is based upon the practical revolutionary action of the bearers of social progress, the working class and its party as well as the other social categories that are irrevocably incompatible with moralistic religious ostentation.

Socialist humanism is an complete humanism for uniform and harmonious fulfillment of all the components of man, natural and social, material and cultural, individual and collective, theoretical and practical, real and possible, economic and political, national and universal, etc. To be a humanist means to understand the immediate and long-range requirements of society and your neighbors and to militate for social and national emancipation and social progress. This is the only way the human personality can be effectively developed and fulfilled. As it says in the RCP Program, "Socialist humanism regards man as a social being in close connection and interdependence with his neighbors and the masses. It is based upon relations of collaboration and mutual respect among all members of society, interdiction of any exploitation or oppression, equality, and the individual's freedom to act purposefully to develop his personality and to build his own future."

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